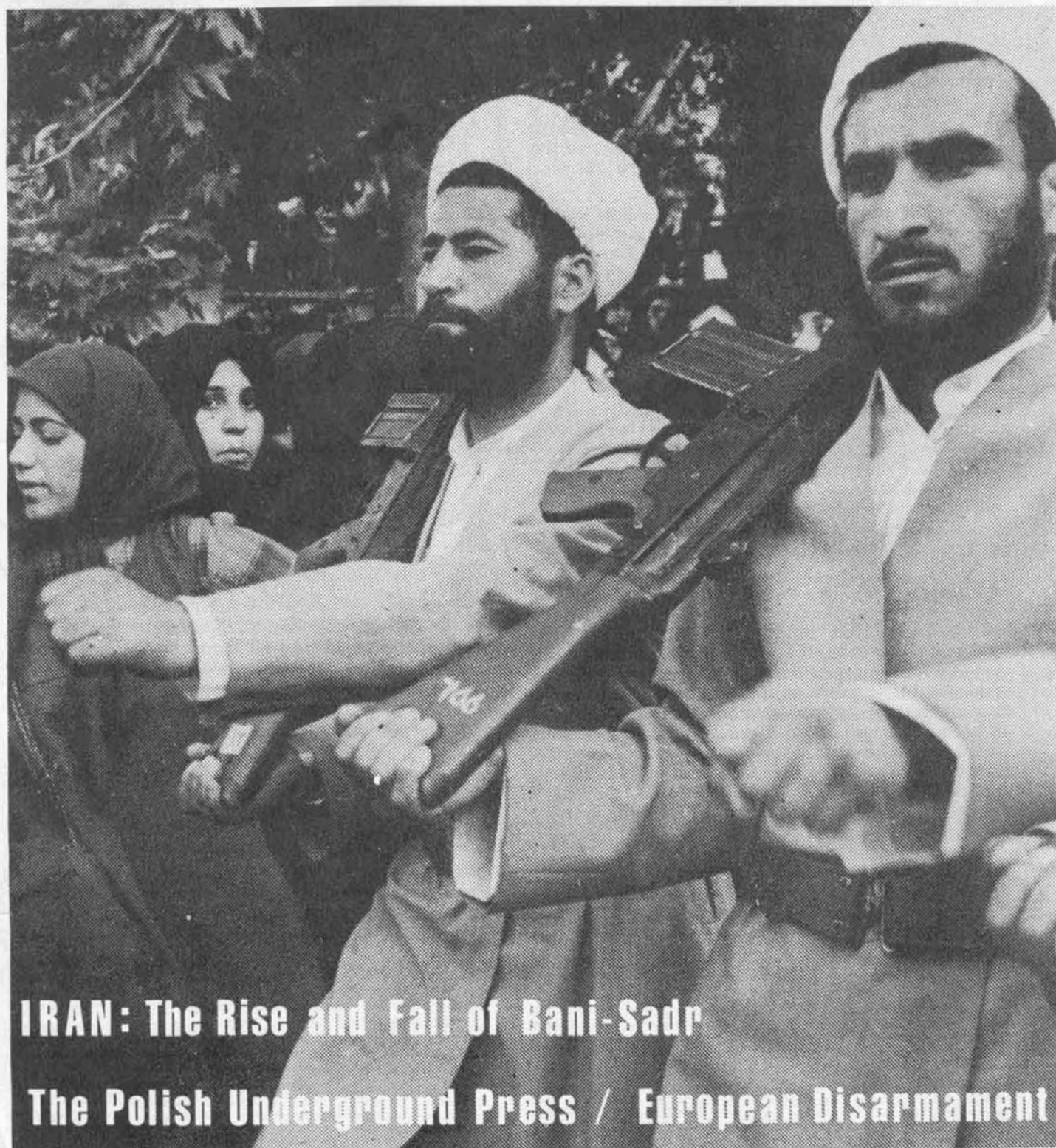


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IRAN: The Rise and Fall of Bani-Sadr

The Polish Underground Press / European Disarmament

Peoples Translation Service

My Bani Lies Over the Border

(Based on *il manifesto*, Italian daily, June 21, 1981; and *Le Monde*, French daily, June 23, 1981.)

Bani-Sadr is from a religious family. His father and grandfather were both ayatollahs. Personally he is a devout Muslim. Originally from the town of Hamadan in western Iran, he came to Teheran for the first time to study theology, and later economics and sociology. His hatred for the Pahlavi regime was learned from both his family and the University environment. In the early 1950's, the young Bani-Sadr supported the nationalist Mossadegh government, which was brought down via a CIA plot that returned the Shah to the Peacock Throne.

Ten years later, Bani-Sadr was forced into exile after his opposition to the U.S.-designed reforms, especially agricultural, carried out by the Shah's regime. He spent almost 15 years in France.

It was during his Paris years that Bani-Sadr began a written correspondence with the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, a good friend of his father's. They met in person for the first time at the funeral of Bani-Sadr's father in 1972 in the Iraqi city of An Najah where Khomeini was living in exile. Six years later, it was Bani-Sadr who prepared Khomeini's arrival in Nauphle-le-Chateau outside of Paris, when Khomeini was forced to leave Iraq.

This became the headquarters of the remarkable struggle to the death against the Pahlavis. It was a war in which Khomeini was the spiritual guide, and during which Bani-Sadr first appeared on the international political scene as Khomeini's secretary and disciple. To the international press he seemed more of an intellectual than a politician, but behind his mild appearance, his politics were tough and radical. It was Bani-Sadr who pushed Khomeini to reject every compromise with the Shah.

With his January 25, 1980 election as the first President of Iran, Bani-Sadr held the country's second most powerful constitutional position, behind Khomeini, the *Velayat-e-Faguih*, the supreme moral and religious authority. At 46 years of age, he seemed destined to play an important role not only inside the new Iran, but throughout the Third World. Though he proved unable to translate his political ideas into an effective political line, Bani-Sadr's thought is a mixture of late 20th century Islam, nationalism and a leftist economic radicalism. He called for a return to the land and agricultural self-sufficiency side-by-side with centralization and planning of Iran's three principal industries—raw materials, steel and petrochemicals—and nationalization of banks, insurance, foreign trade and other key sectors.

Bani-Sadr was removed from public office on June 21 by the Iranian parliament and new presidential elections have been scheduled for late July. Eric Rouleau, the



eminent *Le Monde* journalist specializing in Iranian affairs, offers the following analysis of the fall of Bani-Sadr.

One reason for Bani-Sadr's defeat was his unwillingness or inability to form his own party. He had to accept the compromising support of a large number of groups hostile to the Islamic Republic: groups ranging from the People's Mojahedeen Organization of Iran, called "Islamic marxists" or "American left" by their opponents, to right "liberals" such as former Prime Minister Barzagan. This made it easy for Bani-Sadr's opponents to represent him as the head of a coalition of "counter-revolutionaries."

They could remind the public that Bani-Sadr had opposed summary executions and arbitrary trials after the fall of the old regime. Hadn't Bani-Sadr announced, soon after his election to the presidency, that he would dissolve the Islamic committees, the *pasdarans* (revolutionary guards), and the revolutionary tribunals, all important

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instruments of the new regime? Hadn't he denounced the taking of the U.S. hostages, and preached close cooperation with Western Europe, thus seeking to maintain the ties established by the Shah with imperialism and neo-colonialism?

As unjust as such accusations may have initially appeared to the Iranian public, they gained in credibility the day Khomeini himself took a position against Bani-Sadr. But Bani-Sadr was still not troubled by this state of affairs. He maintained, in my presence, that he was supported by 90% of the population as shown by polls taken

by his aides, and he reminded me of the fact that he had been elected by 75% of the voters. He did not take into account, meanwhile, the fact that he had obtained such a vote at a time when he was generally considered to be the "spiritual son" of the founder of the Islamic republic.

The greatest mistake generally attributed to Bani-Sadr, and a fatal mistake it was, was having underestimated the charisma, and the power of fascination that is still exercised by the Ayatollah Khomeini, a man who is at the same time the "Pope" of the Shiites and the guide of the Islamic revolution. □

Islamic Dissent in Iran

"The IRP Is Another SAVAK"

(Translated from *Liberation*, French daily, June 26, 1981.)

The following is an interview with Sheik Teherani, one of the most prominent religious leaders in Iran. Despite his defiance of the ruling Islamic Republican Party (IRP), and threats against him by the hezbollahis (IRP street gangs), Sheik Teherani supported Bani-Sadr during his impeachment proceedings even though he does not highly respect the ex-president. This interview took place a few weeks before Bani-Sadr's dismissal and disappearance and before Sheik Teherani himself was imprisoned in early July by the IRP.

Sheik Teherani is, above all, an Islamic teacher and scholar. His school is located in a working class neighborhood of Mashad, Iran's principal sacred city and its largest pilgrimage center (three to four million pilgrims a year). Today, Mashad, located 900 kilometers northeast of Teheran, is a city in competition with Qom, the second most important sacred city of Iran. Because of Qom's revolutionary history and the fact that Khomeini had taken refuge there during the rule of the Shah, it currently plays a leading role in Iranian political life. The two great ayatollahs of Mashad, Rohmi and Chirazi, violently condemn the present government which they consider to be "corrupt" and totalitarian. Their voices, however, are never heard outside of their own city.

The following interview was facilitated by a Mashad doctor who is a militant in the National Front, a nationalist secular party whose leader, Mohammed Mossedegh, was overthrown by a pro-U.S. coup in 1953. Although his politics are quite different from those of Teherani, he believes that the opposition expressed by Teherani is more important than that of his own party which is now in rapid decline. Sheik Teherani is a sympathizer of the People's Mojahedeen, a radical underground group that mixes Islam with Marxism. He was also a close friend and advisor of Khomeini.

Sheik Teherani is almost an old man. Thin, alert and smiling, he seemed pleased to receive a Western journalist.

Q: How does the Shiite clergy feel about the present situation in Iran?

A: The Shiite clergy is dissatisfied with the situation. The present government is not truly Islamic and those who are in control have tarnished Islam's image throughout the whole world. We must rid ourselves of this blight on Islam.

Q: Does the clergy that is now in power represent an important tendency within the Shiite religion?

A: I think, on the contrary, that they represent only a

small minority being led by the Ayatollah Beheshti. [Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Secretary General of the IRP killed on June 28, 1981 in a bomb blast.] These people are not *oulemas* (theologians) of Shiite. I know about their past: they have not studied well. To hold power they claim to be defenders of Islam. But all of the real clergy are against them. It is only out of respect for Khomeini that they remain silent. Well, more or less. [He smiles.]

Q: Do the religious leaders respect Bani-Sadr more than the leaders of the IRP?

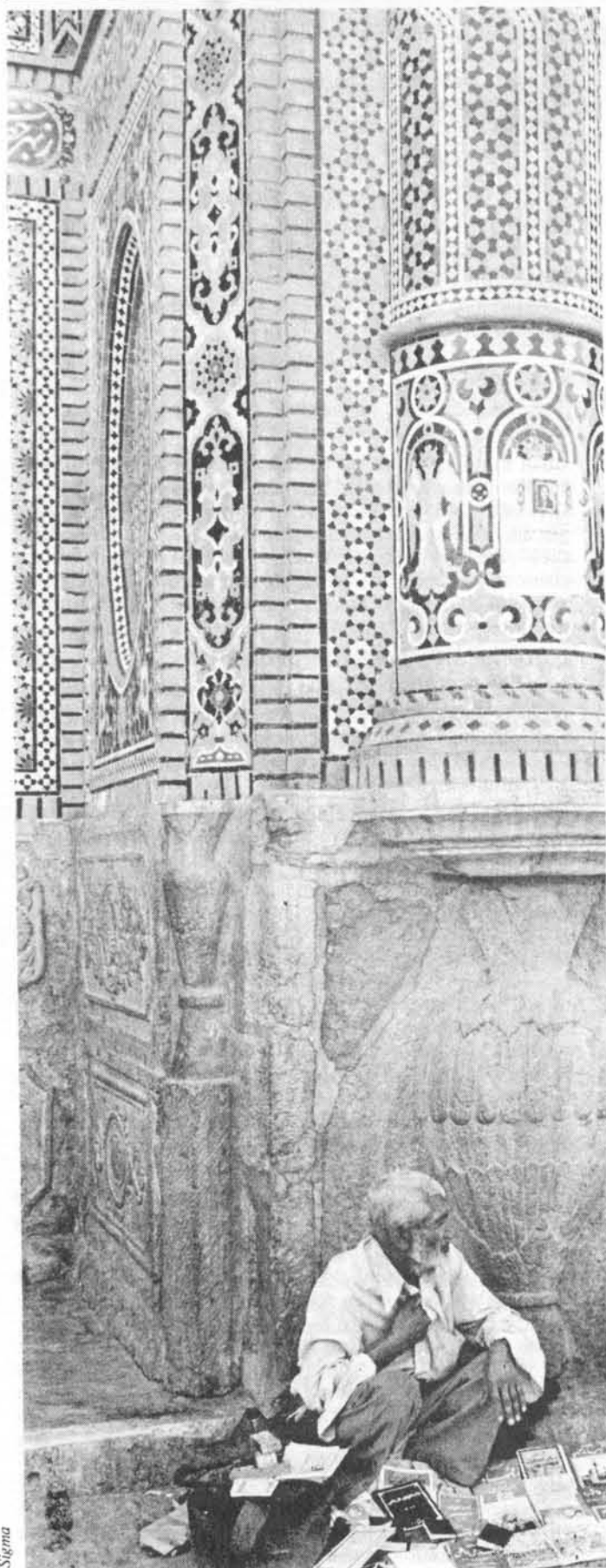
A: They think Bani-Sadr is wiser than the others but not a real Muslim. I personally think he was the best of the candidates who ran in the presidential election. Even so, I would not say that his value system is truly Islamic.

Q: Speaking of the presidential elections, why didn't the IRP put Beheshti forward to run against Bani-Sadr?

A: Khomeini didn't want to. He did not want the clergy to take power officially. So the "party" decided that a secular person should become president and thereby designate a government of his choice to manage the affairs of the country. After the disqualification of their candidate Hal-aledine Farsi because of his Afgani background, they tried to support Habibi and the Admiral Madani against Bani-Sadr. [Habibi represented a religious party in Qom. Admiral Madani, a representative of the westernized bourgeoisie, organized the repression against the Khuzistan separatists in southern Iran in the aftermath of the revolution.] After Bani-Sadr's victory, they coordinated their plotting against him so that the Imam would agree to his dismissal.

Q: The crimes committed by the IRP are the subject of many rumors. Even so, they don't seem to be comparable to those of SAVAK [the Shah's secret police].

A: I have already told the Imam what I am going to tell you now. I think of the "party" as another SAVAK. They use the people's money for everything they do, whether inside or outside of Iran. Their budget is larger than that of SAVAK. The crimes they commit will be more numerous than those committed by SAVAK. There is also more corruption. The IRP has private prisons. They use torture and many persons have died. The leaders of the "party" have monopolized all the power and installed themselves at the head of all of the country's institutions. They use repressive techniques to impose their rule in the universities and the high schools. Under the Shah, there was only repression in the universities. ■



Sigma

The War in Kurdistan

Q: The guerrilla war in Kurdistan has been going on since August 1979 and it may continue for a long time to come. Have you tried to find a solution to the Kurdish problem? (See *Newsfront*, December 1980, for a report on the Kurdish movement in Iran.)

A: Yes, I have, but even there the problem has been manipulated by the IRP. After having rejected the six autonomy demands of the Kurdish Democratic Party, the leaders of the "party" went to talk to the Imam. Using the pretext of a possible attack by Iraq on that province, they requested permission to send the army to Kurdistan with the intention of installing themselves on the border. As a result, the Kurds felt threatened and intervened to attempt to halt the advance of the Iranian army. Bani-Sadr had proposed a referendum on the problem in Kurdistan: he wanted either to abandon it altogether or ask that the Iranian people themselves invade it. I called Bani-Sadr to stop him from making such a proposal. Personally, I made two propositions concerning Kurdistan, one of which was a plan for self-administration of the province and the other for total autonomy. Both were suggested with the goal in mind of ending the war.

Q: But the Imam did not accept the idea of a referendum?

A: I submitted my plans to Ahmad [the son of the Imam] who responded by saying that the Kurds would never accept such a proposal. I said to him, "All the better, in that way we can create a division between them and the people." He persisted in his refusal because he feared that, once autonomy was granted, the U.S. would create a second Israel in the region and thereby create an explosive situation in Iran. I persisted and warned him, "If you continue the war, the Kurdish groups will take refuge in the mountains. Iraq will not be able to get rid of the Kurdish guerrillas and neither will Iran. Since the Iranian Kurds are more powerful than those of Iraq, the massacre of our brothers will continue for a much longer time."

A Different Islamic Political Vision?

Q: An important aspect of the government's policy is the agrarian reform which is dedicated to the redistribution of the large landholdings to the agricultural workers. The great ayatollahs of Mashad, however, are strongly opposed to it. Do you agree with them?

A: Although there is no Islamic economic system that can be applied throughout the ages, the policy, whatever form it may take, should be dedicated to and respectful of three goals: 1) in a Muslim society, neither Muslims nor non-Muslims should suffer economic woes; 2) in a Muslim society there should exist neither the bourgeois nor aristocratic lifestyle and there should be no squandering; and 3) no one has the right to reap the rewards of others' labor except the government when it levies taxes.

Q: What about inheritance?

A: The inheritor should work the land and if he or she doesn't, they shouldn't be allowed to own it. The present agrarian reform is contrary to the principles of Islam and is no different than that which was imposed by the Shah and ruined Iranian agriculture. It is wrong for the big landholdings to be distributed to the workers because they will not have the technical means to cultivate it. In the region of Gombad, production of wheat fell from 500,000 tons to 50,000 tons this year after the big landholdings were occu-

pied by the workers. The only solution to the problem is cooperatives.

Q: What kind of individual liberty exists for the human being within an Islamic republic?

A: Liberty for Islam is freedom from four prisons: 1) the prison of nature which dominates humanity and before which one feels weak; 2) the prison of history where one is a prisoner of one's past, culture and traditions; 3) the prison of society where one is a prisoner of one's social class and of the framework which is imposed by society and its inhabitants; and 4) the prison of oneself where one is a prisoner of one's past and of the unconscious.

If one can free oneself from these four prisons one will be able to benefit from nature by using it for one's own improvement. One will be an independent thinker and will find the best path to follow. One will free oneself from the past, from error, tradition and social classes and begin to search for the truth. One will learn Islamic morality and do away with one's bad conscience.

Western capitalism proposes to give people political and economic liberties, freedom of expression and the freedom to choose one's personal life. As long as these liberties help one to escape from these four prisons they are acceptable, but if they serve only to imprison one more, they are unacceptable.

Q: What kind of critique does the Shiite religion make of Marxism?

A: Let us begin by examining the first stage of Marxism. The nationalization of the means of production, the suppression of classes, the redistribution of wealth according to the value of labor and the dictatorship of the proletariat are four ideas which convert man into a slave, an animal just like all the other animals, with the same amount of goods, the same comforts, the same habits...a real animal.

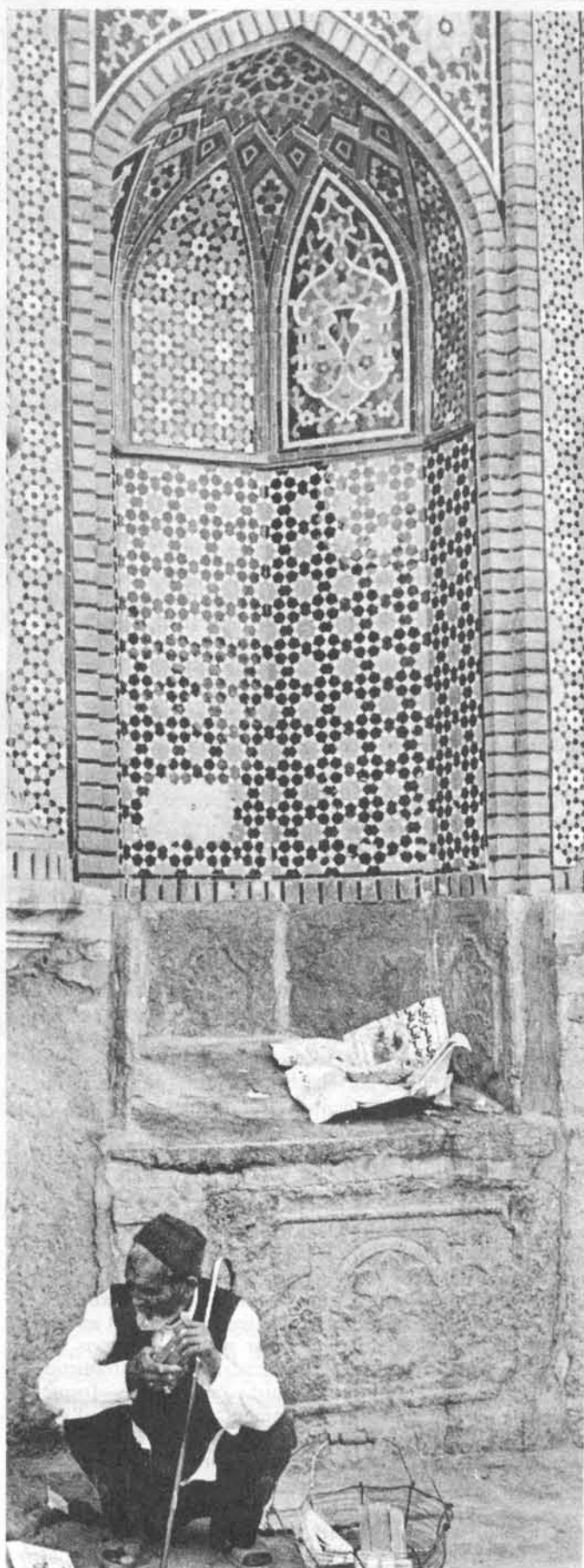
In the second stage, the disappearance of government and the distribution of production according to need are very good ideas. It's an ideal, but one that is impossible to achieve because of the first four ideas. An evil social system can not create the Communist Person. Only Islamic morality can hope to create such a person.

Q: What does the Shiite religion think about Christian morality?

A: Our prophet said: "One who abandons this world for another or sells out the other world in favor of this one is diabolical. Give us the means by which we may benefit from this world and also achieve the other." One must look at the world with two different eyes: one that sees the material side of life and the other that sees the moral side. For Christianity, there is only the one eye which sees only the moral side and disregards all that is material. Unfortunately, after many centuries, Christianity abandoned Jesus' morality by accepting the opposite of what he preached. In other words, they have abandoned the moral for the material. As for the Muslims, they have abandoned both. [A big laugh.]

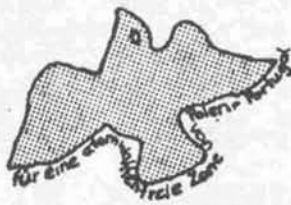
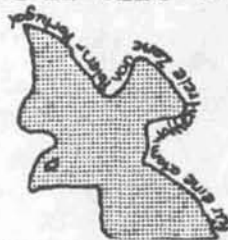
Q: I haven't yet asked you what you see in the future for Iran...

A: There are two possibilities. Either the people will get tired of the present situation and will come to accept being dominated by some foreign power like the U.S. The more likely possibility is that there will be a civil war which will tear the country apart. □



Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament

On the March to Ban the Bomb



(Translated from *il manifesto*, Italian daily, June 6, 1981.)

Ken Coates is a director of the Russell Tribunal, an activist in the left wing of the British Labor Party and one of the founders, along with E.P. Thompson and Raymond Williams, of the Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament.

Q: What is the extent of the current British nuclear deterrent force?

A: It basically consists of four submarines equipped with Polaris missiles and nuclear warheads. But three of these are constantly being repaired, leaving only one in navigation. France, on the other hand, has seven nuclear submarines and can keep four of them navigable. The British deterrent is, therefore neither credible nor effective. It scares me, but I don't think it scares the Soviets.

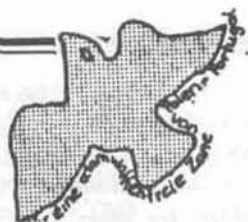
Q: The nuclear disarmament movement in Britain has a long history. How has it changed since the Cold War era, and how has the situation changed?

A: In the 50's and 60's there was a mass movement for unilateral disarmament. At that time, Britain was the only country with nuclear weapons besides the super powers, and disarmament by Britain was considered crucial in preventing nuclear proliferation. Beyond that, we wanted to set a "moral example" for other countries. The movement lost momentum after the Cuban missile crisis, and it evolved into believing that the balance of terror would work. Now the situation is completely different.

Today, British disarmament would have scant effect on the world equilibrium. However, it would have considerable domestic influence, notably by reducing military expenditures, which NATO wants increased by 3% a year in real terms. There is also a program to replace the Polaris missiles with Tridents, at an initial cost of about \$10 billion. In light of our present economic crisis and massive cuts in the welfare state, this seems all the more absurd.

In addition, the international scene today is more and more unstable, and balance of terror is less credible. The doctrine of "limited nuclear war" raises the possibility that Europe will be a "theater" of such warfare. The gravity of this threat has become clear even to some members of the establishment. Lord Mountbatten, in his last speech before he was killed, declared that nuclear weapons can never be considered strategic or tactical, thus contradicting the whole NATO policy. Lord Zuckerman, former scientific advisor to the government, also attacked the notion of a limited nuclear war because it would mean the total destruction of Europe, even allowing that the attacks would be directed only against "military" targets.

Q: In what way can we talk of a new anti-nuclear movement in Britain?



A: It's a large and spontaneous mass movement. In the space of a few months, tens of thousands of people have begun to organize themselves autonomously in thousands of local groups throughout the country, with intense activity, meetings, demonstrations, films, and so on. Nobody waited for the decisions of a central committee to do all this. It just happened, and I see this as a deeply positive development.

Q: Let's move to the European scene. How was the Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament formed?

A: In April 1980, after protesting the NATO decisions regarding cruise missiles, we made a call for a nuclear-free zone in Europe which was enthusiastically received. We began to organize the Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament based on rejection of the doctrine of limited nuclear war and of the weapons which make that possible in Europe, such as the cruise and Pershing missiles of the West and the SS20's of the East. There's no sense distinguishing between Soviet and U.S. nuclear arms, since both are military means of mass destruction.

Q: What are the specific objectives of the Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament?

A: The ultimate objective is to free all of Europe—from Poland to Portugal—of nuclear arms, air and submarine bases, and centers of research and production of nuclear arms. An intermediate objective is to create more restricted nuclear-free zones, limited to certain countries. This proposal takes up a series of old initiatives. For example, in the 50's, Poland proposed ridding Central Europe of nuclear arms; Romania proposed the same thing for the Balkans, and later there was talk of including the Mediterranean. In the 60's, Sweden and Finland began to talk about denuclearizing Northern Europe including Norway and Denmark. These initiatives have greater credibility than European-wide nuclear disarmament.

Another intermediate objective is to involve other nations with nuclear arms in negotiations to limit particular types of weapons. It is possible to develop a whole series of proposals, like those of the Italian Communist Party, to return nuclear armament in Europe to a former level, rather than reaching for a new balance through an escalated arms race.

Q: How are such initiatives brought into the realm of international relations and what have been the concrete results?

A: In 1978, the U.N. held a special session on disarmament, and the participating nations will soon approve a final document recommending the creation of nuclear-free zones in every part of the world. The U.N. protocol calls on the nuclear powers to commit themselves to respect the neutral status of the countries in the nuclear-free zones and to renounce the use or threat of nuclear arms against them.

Since the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty of 1967 it has become increasingly possible that Sweden and Finland, already neutral countries with no nuclear arms, will decide to establish themselves as the first nuclear-free zone. In

that case, the super powers will have to grant them the necessary guarantees. If they are reluctant to do so, all of Europe will have to mobilize. A successful campaign could mean the defeat of the entire strategy of polarization.

Q: What are the next deadlines and initiatives of the Campaign for European Nuclear Disarmament?

A: The big deadline for the European disarmament movement will be met this summer in response to the proposal of a group of Norwegian women supported by Scandinavian peace organizations. There will be a march leaving Copenhagen on June 21, passing through West Germany,

Holland and Belgium, and ending at Paris with a Festival of Peace from August 6 through 9, the anniversaries of the atomic bomb attacks at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. [As of July 10, 4,000 people have taken part in the march.] We hope to organize similar demonstrations in other parts of Europe with marches converging on Paris. It will be the time to extend the mobilization to the whole continent and we hope to involve some countries from the East. Above all, we are expecting a large participation from countries like Spain and Italy where the movement still needs development. □



Barbara Rosenberg

"Women for Peace," Danish group instrumental in this summer's European disarmament march.

No to NATO in Spain

(Based on IPS wires, June 26, 1981 & July 7, 1981.)

Spanish authorities were stunned July 7 when 50,000 people turned out in Madrid to demonstrate against Spain's proposed entry into NATO. The demonstration was organized by the "Anti-NATO Coordinating Committee," which is made up of a broad range of political forces. It includes a former commander of the Spanish Army, General Luis Otero, as well as most of Spain's left political parties.

Spanish Prime Minister Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo announced in June that he plans to apply formally for Spain to become NATO's 16th member next fall. NATO planners are looking forward to taking advantage of Spain's strategic location, commanding the entrance to the Mediterranean. But as the July 7 rally shows, Spanish opposition to NATO entry is growing. Spain's two largest left parties, the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE), have taken leading roles in the campaign. The PSOE and the PSE agree that the major drawbacks to NATO membership would be increased defense spending and reliance on nuclear

weapons. There are currently no nuclear weapons on Spanish territory, even on U.S. bases there.

In late June, PCE International Relations Secretary Manuel Azcarate held a press conference to announce the Party's strategy of "Neutrality, peace and no to NATO." According to Azcarate, today's extremely dangerous international situation has resulted from the hardening of positions along the lines of two opposed military blocs. Spain's entry into NATO would upset even this precarious military balance. "It has been 25 years since either NATO or the Warsaw Pact took in a new country," Azcarate pointed out.

Azcarate also expressed concern over endangering Spain's relations with the Third World. "The relationship between developed and developing countries is the key to our age, and Spain can and should play an important role in this process based on our special relations with Latin America, Africa and the Arab world." He said that although Spain was invited to participate in the Non-aligned Nations' 1979 meeting in Havana, this invitation would not be likely to be extended to a Spain bound by NATO.

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8 — India: Mismanagement, Corruption and Inefficiency

(Based on *blätter des iz3w*, West German monthly, February 1981.)

India today is in a state of general impoverishment and near civil war. Approximately one-half of India's 680 million people live below the nation's poverty level, and the gap between the incomes of the rich and poor is growing. In 1968, Indians in the lower half of the economic spectrum earned 19% of the total national income; by 1976, their share had dropped to 7%. The first of the following two articles links the state of the Indian economy with past development practices and the new policies of the Indira Gandhi government. The second article is a report on India's most serious civil conflict, in its northeastern states.

India has long neglected its state-run economic infrastructure — such as transportation, electricity and coal — in favor of increasing its industrial capacity. This uneven development has resulted in building industries whose basic needs for raw materials cannot be met. Despite continuous investment, India's electrical-generating capacity falls 30% short of current demands. The situation is further aggravated by an inadequate system of coal production and distribution, which allows only 40 to 58% utilization of existing generating capacity.

The mismanagement, corruption and inefficiency of the public sector have had catastrophic effects on Indian industry as a whole, with losses estimated up to 10% of the country's 1980 GNP. The public sector which encompasses key industries such as aluminum and steel, as well as infrastructural industries, ran at a loss last year, and many firms were kept afloat by means of large subsidies. Aluminum and steel both suffer from an underutilized capacity. Despite the potential to be self-sufficient in steel, increased imports were necessary last year to meet domestic demand.

Dependence on imports is also increasing. In the past, India's high export levels led to respectable reserves of foreign exchange. These reserves have been wiped out by a foreign trade deficit expected to reach \$10 billion in fiscal year 1980-1981. Oil alone offsets 80% of Indian exports. A \$4.87 billion oil bill in 1979 rose to \$7.2 billion in 1980. The war between Iran and Iraq has worsened the situation, since India has had to turn to the higher-priced spot-market to replace the 60% of its petroleum needs these two countries met.

In 1980, India received \$1 billion in International Monetary Fund (IMF) credits and an additional \$3.3 billion in aid from the West. These are only short-term solutions for India's problems. A good part of this aid was used to make payments on the country's foreign debts. India owes the World Bank over \$11 billion. In the meantime, inflation reached 20% in early 1980 and ended the year only slightly lower. Severe drought and production stoppages led to a scarcity of consumer goods and high food prices.

Nothing New From Gandhi

After her electoral victory in February 1980, Gandhi ignored the problems of the economy for several months, devoting herself almost entirely to consolidating her government's rule, including the passage of an emergency powers act in August 1980 enabling her to send troops to any part of the country without local approval. During this period, the government was content to reissue the 20-point



"India has long neglected its state-run economic infrastructure, su

economic program developed during Gandhi's martial law rule in 1975. The outlines of the government's economic policies began emerging with a series of plans and budget projections in late 1980.

The major thrust of the government's policy is for rapid expansion of India's industrial capacity and a massive increase in the country's exports. This is to be accomplished through liberalization of domestic industrial policies — decreasing restrictions and regulations — and through overtures to foreign capital investment. The Gandhi government argues that growth will not only end India's economic crisis, but also create an environment for social justice to flourish. For the Indian working class, unlikely to



United Nations/J.P. Lafont

transportation, electricity and coal."

see much change in their condition, the new policies mean discipline, austerity and hard work.

The government has threatened to fire the management of state-run industries which do not produce up to 60% of their capacity. This is part of a general attack on the public sector which is based on the theory that public subsidies for its losses have limited the ability of the private sector to accumulate capital. The government announced its intention to withdraw subsidies gradually from industries where the subsidies have traditionally been politically motivated. However, the Energy Ministry's proposal to reprivatize all public firms with chronic deficits met with resistance even within Gandhi's Congress I Party.

In the past, state licenses were required to start or expand industrial enterprises. While licensing was intended to prevent monopolization, it often had the opposite effect, given large industries' superior contacts inside the government bureaucracy. Large enterprises have simply ignored the regulations when profits looked good, and the government tended to turn a blind eye to their "illegal" expansions.

In August 1980, the government reversed its earlier policy of licensing industries in announcing a series of concrete measures to liberalize industrial policy. Certain industries, especially aluminum, pharmaceuticals and machinery, have been given the right to expand by 25% immediately

and by 50% over the next five years. Taxation on new investment will be decreased by 25% over seven years.

Bureaucratic hindrances are also being swept away for foreign investors. India's Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA), which limits foreign capital to minority shareholdings, is being reduced to a rhetorical exercise. Foreign capital is now being allowed to invest up to 90% in certain public sector industries where private Indian investment has been banned. Complete industrial setups are to be imported to plug the holes in infrastructural and other key industries.

Foreign capital has been quick to pick up on the Gandhi government's cues. In late 1980, a contract for a \$2.1 billion aluminum works was signed with a French firm. A \$680 million credit was awarded by a banking consortium, the largest ever in this part of the world. The French government is expected to provide an additional \$600 million and the India government will make up the rest. This project illustrates the failure of the Gandhi government's new designs to correct its past development errors. Already, the Indian aluminum industry is operating at only 45% of capacity. There is no indication that the new plant will not suffer as well from insufficient supplies of electrical power to operate at full capacity.

With the weakness of earlier regulations, multinational corporations had already developed strong footholds in India, especially where native technology was lacking. Between 1973 and 1979, multinational capital investment

rose from \$3.96 to \$5.15 billion. Like the liberalization of the anti-monopoly regulations, the relaxation of FERA is largely a recognition that large corporations ignored regulations in the past, and of the government's failures in regulation and central planning. The large-scale imports now projected are likely to undermine firms in India's public sector further. Bharat Heavy Electric Ltd. (BHEL) India's largest public enterprise, has already been forced to close. The government has consistently ordered power-generating equipment overseas, leaving BHEL with insufficient contracts.

It has been a year and a half since Indira Gandhi took power. Inflation has decreased somewhat, workdays lost due to strikes have decreased and the economic outlook of state-run industries has improved slightly. According to the government, the investment climate is greatly improved over that which existed under the previous Janata regime. The opposition, however, has charged that the present government is selling out to the monopolies and giving up its regulatory role.

The fears of the government's critics may not be unfounded. Gandhi has prescribed rapid industrial growth as the tonic for India's economic ills. She appears to have accepted the fact that her prescription means greater Indian economic dependency on Western capital, and simultaneously, growing unrest among her impoverished people. The real beneficiaries of Gandhi's policies will be large Indian and multinational corporations. □

Assam: India's Bangladesh

(Based on *la Repubblica*, Italian daily, June 7, 1981; and *der Spiegel*, West German weekly, June 2, 1981.)

The fiercest struggles against the New Delhi government are taking place in the state of Assam and several neighboring smaller states in India's northeast corner. Assam's population has been in open mass revolt for over a year, under the leadership of the All-Assam Students Union. Continuing *satyagraha* (Mahatma Gandhi-like non-violent strikes) have paralyzed the economic life of the state. For the past eight months, schools, banks, government offices and post offices have been closed. Workers and students have blocked the shipment of oil out of Assam, which accounts for one-third of India's oil production. On July 1, the state government collapsed and Assam was put under direct presidential control from New Delhi.

The focus of the movement in Assam is against the presence and economic dominance of immigrant Bengalis who have been emigrating to Assam in large numbers since well before India's independence in 1947. Bengal was, and remains, among the most densely populated areas of the world. In comparison, neighboring Assam is relatively resource-rich and sparsely populated. Between 1930 and 1950 Bengali immigrants took over almost 15 million acres of Assam, and the process has not let up.

The British began the practice of giving government jobs to the Bengalis rather than Assamese. Today, the Bengalis are relatively economically privileged compared to the usually low-paid or unemployed Assamese. The movement in Assam describes the state as "colonized" by West Bengal



and the Indian central government. Conflict between the Assamese and Bengalis has been aggravated by long-standing cultural antagonisms between the two peoples. The Bengalis have treated local Assamese culture and language as inferior since they first arrived with the British in the 19th century. Many Bengalis who have come to Assam are Moslems, while most Assamese are Hindus.

At the time of the independence and partitioning of India, Bengal was divided into West Bengal, which remained a state in the new country of India, and East Bengal, which constituted the eastern part of Pakistan and later, the whole of Bangladesh. (See map.) The analogy is

drawn between Assam, and the situation of East Pakistan before the 1971 secession of Bangladesh. In 1971, the jute and tea revenues of East Pakistan were bailing out the government of Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. Today, the Assamese claim that their oil, tea, jute and rice are being unjustly exploited by India. Like East Pakistan, the Assamese feel themselves living under forced underdevelopment, which leads them to depend on the "importation" of many essential goods from India. The tension in Assam has been heightened by the Indian Army's virtual military occupation of the state and frequent instances of sexual violence by Indian soldiers against Assamese women.

On April 12, Indira Gandhi went to Assam in a futile search for a negotiated solution to the crisis. In Assam's capital, Gauhati, a documentary color film was shown during her visit on the struggle of the Assamese people. The film concluded with a shot of a map of an independent "United Assam" that consisted of the entire northeast region of India, including the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur Meghalaya, Misoram, Nagaland and Tripura. The audience rose to its feet singing "Amar Apanor Desh," the Assamese "national anthem" written by Laxminath Bezborooah, a timber merchant turned nationalist poet.

Eight Years After the Coup Keeping the Lid on in Chile

(Based on IPS wires, April-June 1981; *El Rebelde*, Chilean resistance monthly, May & June, 1981; and *Agencia Informativa de la Resistencia*, Chilean resistance press, Spring 1981.)

Hearing of François Mitterrand's election, Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet was quoted as saying, "Each country has the right to the government it wants. If this is what France wanted, it's fine with me."

While commending the French on their ability to choose their own leader, Pinochet remains resolute in denying Chileans the right to choose the government they want. Nearly eight years after the bloody September 1973 coup which overthrew democratically-elected Salvador Allende, Pinochet maintains his iron grip on Chile, now under a new "constitution" approved by a plebiscite last September 11. The plebiscite sought to lend legitimacy to Pinochet's rule for a minimum of eight more years. Despite international condemnation of the vote, Pinochet symbolically installed himself on March 11 into the Moneda Presidential Palace which had remained empty since Allende was killed there in 1973.

A new phase of repression has been ushered in along with Chile's new constitution. 1980 saw a dramatic increase in reports of arrests, torture and disappearances. Those accused of violating the state "internal security" law are frequently sent to internal exile in remote corners of the country.

The left has responded to the changed conditions by attempting to unify forces both inside and outside the country. There is a general recognition throughout the left that all moderate avenues of change have been eliminated.

The central government of New Delhi has good reason to fear a common front of rebel groups in northeast India. For years, anti-Indian guerrilla struggles have been heating up in Manipur, Nagaland and Misoram. A Manipur Revolutionary Government was formed in 1975, and the Manipur People's Liberation Army emerged in 1978 in open insurrection against the Indian Army. Nagaland has a Socialist Council of Nagaland and a Federal Government of Nagaland, both headquartered in Burma. A People's Republic of Nagaland was proclaimed on February 2, 1980. In Misoram, there is mass support for the Miso National Front, and peace talks with New Delhi are widely regarded as "treason."

These movements have sought and received help for their armed struggles from China. This was one of the major motivations behind the Indian government's recent reopening of border negotiations with China for the first time since 1960. (In 1962, India and China fought a border war.) The secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan succeeded by virtue of India's support for the rebel cause. By courting China, the Gandhi government understands the importance of denying "United Assam" a powerful ally on its own border. □

Movement on the Left

Even the military has noted the increasing proficiency of the armed resistance. Bank robberies, bombings and sabotage have occurred frequently over the past year. In April, the resistance sabotaged electrical equipment at a music festival in the city of Viña del Mar. Since the coup this seaside resort has become a showcase for imported musicians. Another group took over a radio station for several hours shortly before May 1 in downtown Santiago, Chile's capital. The group broadcast anti-government statements and called for a May Day action. Demonstrations of support for resistance actions have become frequent, especially in the poorer barrios where people have erected barricades and distributed opposition leaflets. They usually manage to disperse before the police arrive.

The Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) continues to lead most of the armed actions, although other groups have also been carrying out successful acts of sabotage. An open letter to the Chilean people from MIR underground leader Andres Pascal Allende (Salvador's nephew), reflects the new unity of action:

"In the ranks of the popular resistance, no one asks what party you belong to, or what religious or philosophical beliefs you have....All that is asked is that you play a consistent part in the democratic struggle for the defense of our people and the overthrow of the dictatorship."

Even the Communist Party, traditionally opposed to armed struggle, issued a statement supporting the people's right to use "all means at their disposal" in the fight against the junta.

These means have included hunger strikes and vigils, in which the church, students and the labor movement have all been active. Nine university students staged a ten-day hunger strike in Santiago's Metropolitan Church before being forcibly ousted. Four of the group detained by police then continued their strike in prison, while 10 others held a 72-hour support strike.

The strikes were protesting a decree eliminating all but 12 fields of study from the universities and the presence of security police on campuses. Only technical sciences such as veterinary medicine, medical and dental surgery, engineering and biochemistry remain. By restricting students to technical fields, the junta hopes to stifle what it calls "subversive" activities coming out of the universities.

University administration has also been placed under closer control by the military and reorganized into one of the Milton Friedman-style models applied throughout Chile since the coup. The government seeks to make higher education self-supporting through tuition increases, cuts in spending and emphasis only on fields which are highly remunerative.

Labor Leaders Charged

Union activity has heightened in response to Chile's worsening economic plight. This spring, the National Union Federation (CNS) staged a strike of 10,000 copper miners at the *El Teniente* mine. (See *Newsfront*, June 16, 1981.) Two of the CNS's leaders, Manuel Bustos and Alamiro Guzman, wrote a statement critical of the regime's social and economic policies. The government responded by charging them with "illegally representing workers" and acting "contrary to the order and security of the state."

Unemployment is now around 15%, the foreign debt over \$10 billion, and the housing shortage increasingly severe. Squatter settlements continue to spring up in and around Santiago. The ranks of persons involved in the "Minimum Employment" program, which provides jobs to unskilled workers at a wage of \$30 per month, have swelled to over 200,000.

U.S. Moves

The Reagan Administration has been steadily moving towards restoration of full ties with the Pinochet



Dialogo

Housing conditions for Chile's poor

regime. Relations had been strained under Jimmy Carter's human rights foreign policy. Chile's Export-Import Bank credits were cut after the junta refused to extradite or try three Chilean officers implicated in the assassinations of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit in Washington, D.C. in 1976. But this February, the U.S. announced that Chile would once again be eligible for bank credits, and that the Chilean navy would participate in hemispheric naval exercises. The State Department has deflected criticism by saying its "quiet diplomacy" approach would be more effective regarding human rights. Moreover, in a recent retrial of conspiracy charges in the Letelier-Moffit case, two Cuban exiles involved in the murders were acquitted.

In early June, Chilean Foreign Minister Rene Rojas Galdames came to the U.S. for talks with, among others, Vice-President George Bush. Returning to Chile, Rojas Galdames announced that the U.S. was "well disposed" to improving relations between the two countries. He also indicated that U.S. officials, perhaps U.N. Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick, would soon be visiting Chile. □

When Agents Pull a Bank Job

On March 10, two agents of the state intelligence apparatus CNI (successor to DINA) robbed a bank in a northern Chilean town. They escaped with \$1 million and two hostages, whom the agents promptly murdered in the desert. When suspicions arose, the agents returned to dynamite the bodies. Ultimately, the CNI in the entire province was implicated, including the local head of the security agency, who was later found murdered in his car.

The episode provoked widespread publicity, including demands that the CNI answer for other crimes against the Chilean people. At a press conference held by Chile's Commission on Human Rights, one spokesperson argued: "This incident was not an isolated case, nor was it an accident. Rather, it illustrates the impunity with which

[CNI] agents act." A group of relatives of the disappeared asked the Supreme Court to clarify more than 600 detentions since 1973.

The Minister of Justice denounced the act as "the isolated action of two individuals," and insisted that the robbery and murders "do not damage the government's image."

However, even the pro-junta daily *El Mercurio* called for a "more precise definition and greater limitations on the functions CNI officers serve in the country." The editorial went on to suggest that "it would be politically advantageous for the intelligence services to gather information and abstain from interfering directly in the liberties of citizens." □

Poland's Underground Press

(Based on *il manifesto*, Italian daily, April 23, 1981.)

NOWA (an acronym spelling out the Polish word 'new,' which stands for *Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza*, the Independent Publishing House), was founded in 1977 by leaders of the KOR, the Labor Self-Defense Committee (now the Committee for Social Self-Defense). It publishes a number of modern and contemporary writers whose works are otherwise not available to Polish readers. *NOWA* also publishes various periodicals, literary reviews and papers of social and political criticism. Organized to fight against the "policing of thought" carried out by the government censors, *NOWA* challenges both the state-controlled press and the policies of a state which suppresses public criticism of government activities.

In a pamphlet published before August 1980, *NOWA's* editors describe their activities and goals.

NOWA was founded to protest the illegality of censorship. Our publications make up only a small percentage of what is published officially by the government. Technically, our works often leave much to be desired. But it is not the quality of our printing that counts. Rather, it is the appearance of a free press that challenges a totalitarian state that allows no room for critique or opinions that can be interpreted as criticism. It is impossible to publish the works of Czeslaw Milosz [winner of the 1980 Nobel Prize for Literature], one of the greatest contemporary poets. None of the works of Witold Gombrowicz, probably the greatest contemporary Polish writer, has ever been published. The ban extends to most of the Polish intellectuals who have emigrated to the West, like Bronislaw Baczko, Krzysztof Pomian and Leszek Kolakowski. Similarly, the works of leading foreign authors, such as George Orwell, Joseph Brodsky, Osip Mandelstam and Gunter Grass, cannot be published. One of *NOWA's* objectives has been to bring these forbidden authors to Polish readers.

Through April 1980, we have published over 80 books with runs of 1000 to 4000 copies, two literary reviews with regular printings of 2000 copies, and several thousand copies of news magazines printed in collaboration with other groups....We have also published certain monographs. Among these has been "The Katyn Massacre Papers." [The Katyn Massacre, in which 10,000 Polish Army officers were killed during World War II, is perhaps the most sensitive and symbolic historical issue in Poland currently. Official history dates the massacre in 1941—at the hands of the Nazis. Considerable evidence points to 1940—at the hands of the Soviets.] Others have been "Polish Censorship," and the famous "Report on the State of the Republic," which contained the responses to a questionnaire sent to 200 intellectuals, including members of the [ruling] Polish United Workers Party.

Political and Production Problems

One of *NOWA's* editors talked about the workings and importance of *NOWA* in an interview with *il manifesto*.

The underground press in Poland operates quite differently from those in the Soviet Union or Czechoslovakia. In the Soviet Union, only five to ten copies of a particular text are printed, and they are circulated until every-

one has read them. Often, they don't even publish the works, but read them at private gatherings. In Czechoslovakia, they print only 100 or so copies. Our efforts are on a much larger scale. We publish for the masses, and this makes us unique among underground presses throughout the world.

Originally, *NOWA* did not intend to become an opposition press. But as soon as we began publishing, the government organized a massive campaign of provocations and investigations against us. Our offices were searched every other day—not that they ever found anything, or expected to. They only wanted to disrupt our operations. Instead, they succeeded in disrupting much of the country. Within 48 hours, hundreds of people throughout Poland were arrested for possession of *NOWA* publications; the police only stopped when the jails couldn't hold any more. But two months later, *NOWA* was again functioning as a regular publishing house. Writers began sending their work to *NOWA*. Soon they were writing directly for us. Censorship is a strange thing. When you live under it, you learn to censor yourself. You become accustomed to writing a certain way. A little over a year after *NOWA* began publishing, we saw a real explosion of good writers. Perhaps it was due to a generation of older Poles who remember a life free from the barriers and restrictions with which we were raised. We are creating a new intellectual freedom in which words and thoughts are not censored.

Most of *NOWA's* readers and editors are intellectuals. But *NOWA* has recently launched a campaign to involve workers in the press's activities. In fact, the workers will soon assume responsibility for a large part of the press's activities. Solidarity is now organizing libraries in the large factories, which will provide additional opportunities for worker participation in *NOWA's* affairs.



Printing Poland's opposition press

El Salvador: Left Takes the Offensive

(Based on IPS wires, June 1981, July 4, 1981; and *Latin America Weekly Reports*, English-language weekly, June 19 & 26, 1981.)

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador has taken the offensive, strengthening its positions in the northeastern province of Chalatenango as well as in some strategic locations in the center of the country. During June, the guerrillas' "liberated zones" around the Mount Chinchontepec volcano near San Vicente, 40 miles to the east of the capital San Salvador, came under sustained attack by the Salvadoran Army. The San Vicente area is strategically important because it controls communications between the eastern and western regions of the country. However, the Army eventually withdrew without dislodging the guerrillas. An unnamed Army officer at Mt. Chinchontepec told Inter Press Service: "We threw everything we had at them and they're still there. Our air and ground forces were not well coordinated."

Heavy fighting took place in San Salvador during June, with several shootouts between the Army and the guerrillas, including one six-hour gun battle. The guerrillas are regularly attacking police patrols and convoys in and around San Salvador, as well as in many parts of the countryside.

It was widely reported in the U.S. press during the last week in June that the FMLN had also brought the war to the eastern port city of La Union, and that they held the army barracks and a naval base there under siege for four

days before pulling out. The U.S. embassy in San Salvador claimed that three U.S. military advisors were inside one of the barracks. However, on July 3 a spokesperson for the FMLN's Information Section denied that any attack had taken place. The spokesperson, Victor Guerrero, insisted that "none of our four columns carried out actions in La Union last weekend." He asserted that, instead, a number of Salvadoran Army soldiers in the La Union barracks had attempted to mutiny, but that they were unsuccessful. Guerrero noted that the government had shown no bodies of dead guerrillas, as would be normal in such a situation.

Voicing a mood of increasing pessimism within the Salvadoran Army, Defense Minister Colonel Jose Guillermo Garcia told a press conference in Guatemala City in mid-June that "Although we have been winning so far, the insurgents have the advantage of surprise and are also calling the shots." He went on to say that "the communists' organization is admirable and their field hospitals are better than ours."

The civil war has also devastated this year's coffee production. Despite the government's agrarian reform program last year, El Salvador's large coffee and cotton plantations are still in private hands, and a lack of workers to plant and harvest the crops has taken its toll. The military-backed government had predicted a better 1981 crop, but this year's harvest was only half that of 1980.

In the first four months of 1981, according to the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, 7,082 people have been killed in political violence in El Salvador, compared to 3,026 people killed during the same period last year. □



A clandestine meeting of El Salvador's Democratic Revolutionary Front

sous le drapeau du socialisme

Poland, continued from page 13

Publishing is a constant struggle for NOWA. We run short of paper; we can't find the color we need; we can't buy a stencil. Stencils are a major problem for us. Since they aren't available in Poland, we have to import them from the West. Paying for them in U.S. dollars makes them very expensive. Then, after purchasing one, we have no guarantee it won't be seized at the border. Such confiscations really hurt us. The loss of a stencil throws off all our plans.

Until 1970, all typewriters had to be officially registered. They are still a favorite target for police investigators who confiscate them during their investigations. Distribution presents another set of problems. We print between 1000 and 10,000 copies of our various publications, with an average of 3000 per publication. Our books are passed from hand to hand. A single copy will usually be read by at least ten people. Then too, our publications are expensive compared to those published by the State. With our needs outstripping resources, we rely on miracles and our own ingenuity to keep our presses running. □

Right Moves in Nicaragua

(Based on IPS wires, June, 1981.)

Followers of Nicaragua's late dictator, General Anastasio Somoza, are mounting increased opposition to the Sandinista regime. Attacks from across the Honduran border took 15 lives in June. Reports from Honduras and Nicaragua indicate that there are at least 3,000 former National Guardsmen in Honduras, with at least one training camp in the northeast part of the country near the Nicaraguan border.

Inside Nicaragua a number of former National Guardsmen imprisoned in the "Zona Franca" prison near Managua, the capital, staged a prison revolt during the last weekend in June. They overpowered several guards, taking hostages and eight M-16 rifles. After negotiations broke down, the Sandinista forces shot it out with the Somocistas, killing 16. One guard was injured in the crossfire.

The dialogue between the Sandinista government and the private business sector has broken down. The National Forum for Discussion, a body which meets three times a week to discuss differences among the various forces in Nicaragua, has seen increasingly stormy sessions. Many private sector leaders, notably those in the National Front of Opposition, say the government is not giving private enterprise a fair shake. In the meantime, the government accuses private businesspeople of refusing to invest their capital in Nicaragua, preferring what they see as more stable and profitable investments overseas.

In yet another internal struggle, the four priests who occupy key government posts in the Sandinista government have shown no sign of resigning as they were ordered to do by the episcopal



conference of the Nicaraguan Catholic church. The conference passed the order by a four-to-three vote and it received the blessing of the Vatican. The conflict between progressive and conservative forces in the Nicaraguan church does not appear to be headed for an early resolution. □

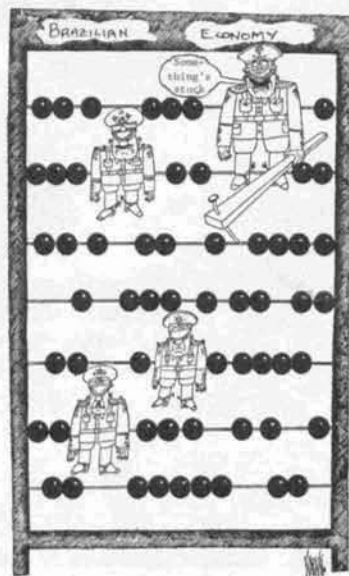
Brazilian Workers to Meet

(Based on IPS wires, July 1, 1981.)

The first National Conference of the Working Class (CONCLAT) is scheduled for August 21-23 in the town of Praia Grande, on the coast of the Brazilian state of Sao Paulo. The CONCLAT Executive Committee, meeting in Sao Paulo at the end of June, worked out preparatory details, with representatives from 29 unions in 14 of Brazil's states taking part. Some 4,000 union delegates from throughout Brazil are expected to join numerous international guests at the CONCLAT Conference. Praia Grande was chosen because many unions have built summer homes there for vacationing workers. Praia Grande will also "allow workers to gather together instead of being dispersed as would be the case in large cities like San Paulo," said Hugo Peres, President of the Urban Industrial Workers' Federation of Sao Paulo.

The CONCLAT will cost about \$110,000, raised through donations from unions and private citizens. Six main themes will be discussed in the three-day meeting: workers' rights, unionism, social

security, wage policies, agrarian policies and national problems. This is part of a continuing effort to organize a workers' confederation in Brazil. The short-lived General Workers' Confederation (CGT) was outlawed after the military coup in 1964. (For more information on Brazil's trade union movement, see *Newsfront*, June 16, 1981.) □



Turkey: Death to the Left

(Translated from *Liberation*, French daily, June 27, 1981.)

At a military tribunal in Istanbul on June 25, the prosecution demanded the death penalty for Abdullah Basturk, the Secretary General of Turkey's largest and most influential labor confederation, the Confederation of Revolutionary Labor Unions (DISK), as well as for 51 other leaders of the left-wing union. Basturk, aged 52, was accused of having attempted to overthrow the Turkish government in order to establish a "communist regime."

This is the first time since the military coup d'etat in September 1980 which overthrew Turkey's democratically-elected government that the death penalty has been requested for a militant who was not specifically accused of "terrorist" activities. Basturk is a former parliamentary deputy of the social-democratic People's Republican Party, led by ex-Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit, who has a moderate reputation. □

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Larry Montgomery

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Azcarate also shrugged off arguments that Spanish democracy would be strengthened if the country were to join NATO by pointing to coups in Turkey and Greece, both NATO members. He added that Portugal was a NATO member even while it was under a fascist dictatorship. □

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